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Editor : Professor Sukumar Sen

Department of Comparative Philology
University of Calcutta

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A Note on the Article in Khasi

Satyendra Narayan Goswami.

1. The article in Khasi has essentially the most prominent place in the structure of the language as they play primarily a double role as number-affix and gender-affix along with their usual role of article proper—definite and indefinite. Such articles are /ŋ/ /kā/ /i/ /kī/ : the first three are singular while the fourth is plural. According to their different roles they may be grouped as below :

/ŋ/ Sg. : Def./Indf. : masc. : 3rd Personal Pronoun,

/kā/ Sg. : Def./Indf. : fem. : 3rd Personal Pronoun.

/i/ Sg. : Def./Indf. : masc./fem.

/kī/ Pl. : Def./Indf. : masc./fem.

Note : (a) /ŋ/ and /kā/ show all the four different treatments.

(b) Excepting /kī/ others stand for definite/indefinite article.

The Use of the Article as Article proper :

2. Actually there is no such specific articles for definite and indefinite as observed in English, Assamese, Bengali, etc. The same article stands for either definitive or indefinite ; thus, it is observed that the context is the only criterion of determining the definitive or indefinite sense of the article in Khasi. e.g.,

ñā¹ don² kā³ kot/kitāb⁴ = I have a book.

I¹ have² a³ book⁴

une¹ ñ dei² ñ³ simbāi⁴ ũ tieukulāb⁵ = This is the seed of a rose,
this¹ is² the³ seed⁴ a (of) rose.⁵

Note : Here the genitive suffix 'joñ' is omitted from 'tieukulāb'

kā¹ tupiā² kā don³ hālor⁴ kā jinhāh⁵ = The cap is on the bed
the¹ cap² is³ on/at⁴ the bed⁵

kī¹ khinnāh² kī don³ hā⁴ skul⁵ = The boys/girls are in the
school,

the¹ boys/girls² are³ in⁴ school.⁵

3. The third article /i/ is always diminutive and is always used with either gender or names of contemptible objects, or human-beings to show extreme love, high respect etc.

ī koñ/kinsi 'my elder sister-in-law'; ī khunluñ 'a/the baby';

ī noñshukor 'a/the liar'; ī bābu 'a/the school-teacher'

<Bg, bābu.

4. An article in Khasi generally takes place before a noun in both the nominative and objective case, and at the same time excepting /i/ it, also occupies the place before a verb of the 3rd person other than Imperative and Infinitive mood. In the above examples, we observe such uses of the article in case of 'a dei', 'kā don', 'kī don'.

Note: The repetition of the article before the verb indicates the demonstrative force of a personal pronoun. e.g. kā¹ mīāw² kā pāh³ 'the¹ cat³ (it) mewls.²

5. The repetition of the article before verb indicates the definitive sense of the noun, otherwise it is indefinite. e.g.

kā¹ lā² iāp³ kā⁴ māsi⁵ = The cow is dead.

the¹ is² dead³ the⁴ cow⁵.

lā¹ ūr² ū³ brieu⁴ = A man is dead.

is dead¹ a² man³.

6. When an adjective with article precedes its noun, the article is definite and when the adjective follows its noun the article is indefinite if it is not omitted. e.g.,

ū bādāt¹ ū² ksew³ = The dog is snappish.

snappish¹ the² dog³

ū¹ mrād² bārūnar³ = A cruel animal.

a¹ animal² cruel³.

7. The article is always definite with the names of prominent objects. e.g., ū Syiem 'the king', kā Bāibl 'the Bible', kā sñi 'the sun/day', kā skul 'the school', kā pīrthei 'the earth', etc.

The article is definite if the nominative is identified by the predicate. e.g.

ñā¹ loñ² ū³ sñiem⁴ = I am the king.

I¹ am² the³ king⁴

8. When the nominals do not refer to their attributes but

simply refer to the object then the article is generally omitted from the complement of subject. e.g.,

ṛ loṅ ṁ kpā — He is a father.

ṁ loṅ kpā — He is father

ṁ loṅ khristān — He is Christian.

9. The article is definite if the objective case is governed by the preposition 'iā' or vice versa. e.g.,

ṁ brie¹ ṁ lā sīāt² iā ṁ sīn³ — The big

13. Some nouns show the plural forms, but after taking plural prefix they modify the meaning. e. g.,

kā ksiār 'gold'	kī ksiār 'golden ornaments'.
kā kām < As. kām 'work'	kī kām 'actions'
kā sñi 'the sun'	kī sñi 'days'
kā jñākhāi 'trade'	kī jñākhāi 'goods'
kā sñāp 'the rainy seasons'	kī sñāp 'the rainy seasons'
kā jñāthāw 'ornaments'.	kī jñāthāw 'ornaments'.

Robinson, Rev. H. Roberts, U Mondon Bareh, U Nissor Sing and Dr. H. Bareh etc.

16. Names of big, ugly and rough objects or creatures, mountains, trees with rough fibre, fruits, stones, grass, plants, flowers creepers, vegetables, hard minerals, heavenly bodies, rare birds, general i. e., unprepared food, tools for carpentry etc., main utensils used for cooking i.e. pots etc., are grouped in the category of masculine while the names of beautiful or tiny and lovely objects or creatures with serviceable and desirable good qualities, rivers, lakes, liquids, books, leaves, times, seasons, dresses, places, ordinary birds, trees with soft fibres, soft and valuable minerals, most important furniture and other utensils used in day-to-day life, bodily organs, abstract ideas, prepared foods, physical features (i.e., names and sceneries), buildings and houses, small cooking utensils, diseases (excepting eruptive disease), few heavenly bodies, etc. are grouped in the category of feminine. These are illustrated below :

Masculine Gender :

17. (i) With persons : ũ brieu 'a man', ũ syiem 'a king', ũ Blei 'a god', ũ shinrāh 'a male', ũ pukir < Faqir 'a monk' etc.

(ii) With animals having the qualities of strength, violence, cunning etc. : ũ hāti < As. hātī 'an elephant', ũ siñ < As. singha 'a lion', ũ sniān 'a boar', ũ ksew 'a dog' etc.

Note : With an animal /ũ/ is more significant to its species than gender.

(iii) With rare birds : ũ klew 'a pea-cock', ũ pukni 'a vulture' etc.

(iv) With small and poisonous creatures : ũ bseĩ 'a snake', ũ khākoi 'a crab', ũ skāĩ 'a fly', etc.

(v) With hard and rough objects : ũ māw 'a stone', ũ lāom 'a hill/mountain', ũ it < As. iṭā 'a brick', ũ mawriā 'pebbles' ũ nār 'iron', ũ isbād < Bg. ispāt 'steel', etc.

(vi) With plants, flowers, fruits, polished tools etc. :

ū kbā 'paddy', ū thri 'cane', ū phlān 'grass', ū pāi 'sugarcane',
 ū pāthāw 'pumpkin', ū kawī 'betel-nut', ū tīmpen 'pan leaf',
 ū phān 'potato', ū kubi < As. kabi 'cabbage', ū siej 'bamboo',
 ū soh 'fruit', ū sohīāmtra 'an orange', ū snep-kor 'a cocoanut',
 u tīrnem 'hammer', u khiu ja 'a hook', etc.

(vii) With unprepared foods, heavenly bodies, etc. : ū
 khāw 'rice', ū piāt < As. piāz 'onion', ū buiām < As. bayām 'jar',
 ū jok < Eng. jug, ū ketlī < Eng. kettle, ū khīushā 'tea-pot',
 ū bnei 'the moon', ū khlur 'the star', etc.

Exceptions : kā sni 'the sun', kā pīrthei 'the world', kā
 khīndew 'the earth', etc.

Feminine Gender :

18. (i) With persons and animals : kā brieu 'woman', kā
 syiem 'queen', kā sār 'hen', etc.

(ii) With common birds and small creatures etc. : kā
 hān 'duck', kā tutā 'a parrot', kā tidpu 'the cuckoo', kā
 sārew 'a crane', kā dkār 'a tortoise', kā jākoid 'a frog', etc.

Exception : ū tīnāb 'a raven'.

Note : /kā/ has also referred to the species of the animals
 and birds. e.g. kā doh khā 'the fish like'.

(iii) With trees of soft fibre, soft and valuable minerals
 etc. : kā kseh 'a pine tree', kā lākāit 'a plantain tree', kā ksiār
 'gold', kā rupā < As. rupā, 'silver', kā shun < As. cūṇ 'lime', kā
 rānāb 'slope', kā them 'valley' etc.

(iv) With rivers, lakes, place-names, seasons etc. : kā wāh
 'river', kā um saw 'a red river', kā puñ 'lake', kā diñ 'fire', kā
 kiād 'liquor/wine', kā ior 'snow', kā pukri < As. pukhuri Kām.
 pokhri 'tank', kā sni 'the day', kā tāiu 'week', kā snem 'year',
 kā liur 'summer', kā tlāñ 'the winter', kā korkātā < Bg. kolkātā
 'Calcutta', kā guāti 'Gaubati' < As. Guwāhāṇi.

Exception : ū bnei 'a month'.

(v) With the parts of buildings and various furniture etc. :
 kā kāmṛā 'room' < Bg. kāmṛā, kā tbiān 'floor', kā jīnkhon 'door',
 kā kīnroh 'wall', kā bārāndā 'varandah', kā khīrdop 'gate', kā

phillāw 'compound', kā sād 'ceiling' <Bg. cād, kā jinhkhān (it) 'window', kā kper 'garden', kā miej 'table' <As. mez, kā khuri 'cup', kā pliān, 'plate', kā siān 'spoon', kā tālā 'lock' <Kām. tālā, kā it khmi 'looking glass', etc.

Exceptions : ũ kāiñ 'a house', ũ iijied 'post', ũ khnoñ 'beam supporting the planks of the floor', ũ sīnsār 'broom-stick', ũ tillāi 'rope', ũ sābi 'key', etc.

(vi) With the bodily organs, dresses and abstract ideas etc. : kā khlīeh 'head', kā khmāt 'eye', kā sīntur 'mouth', kā khmut 'nose', kā skor 'ear', kā bniāt 'tooth', kā rīndān 'neck', kā kti 'hand', kā sīnriāhte/i 'finger', kā shāden 'chest/breast', kā kpoh 'belley', kā khohsiew 'knee', kā kjāt 'foot', kā tdoñ 'tail', kā jāiñ-spon 'turban', kā sop'tilor 'coat', kā sop'ti poh 'shirt', kā patlun 'trouser', kā bohkhōilā 'dhoti', kā diñauh 'a stick', kā tāpmoh-khlīeh 'head-dress (for female)', kā sopti kti 'blouse', kā sīmi 'under coat', kā juti 'shoe', kā jāinkūp 'wrapper', kā jāin sem 'outer garment', kā jāin kīrshāh 'apron', kā bor 'strength', kā nām 'fame' <As. nām, kā āin 'law' <As. āin, kā jiāmut 'mind', kā jīnieit 'love/affection', kā jiān neit 'faith', kā jiñstād 'wisdom', kā buron 'honour', etc.

Exception : ũ thillied 'tongue', ũ tor 'lungs', ũ shinnīuh 'hair', ũ kloñ-snam 'heart', ũ pdot 'throat', ũ pin 'a pin', etc.

(vii) With prepared foods and soft utensils etc. : kā ja 'boiled rice', kā mluh 'salt', kā shini 'sugar or sugar refined' <As. cheni/Bg. chini, kā mithāi 'molasses or sugar unrefined' <As. mithai, kā jintāh 'curry', kā umshīt 'curry or rice water', kā shā 'prepared tea', kā kurāt 'saw' <As. kārāt, kā sīrti 'razor', kā ruh 'cage', kā lieñ 'boat', kā wāit 'dao', kā rīndā 'plane' <As. renda, kā khānshi 'scissor' <As. kēci/Kām. kessī/Bg. kăci, kā tāri 'knife' <As. kārārī, Kām. kātāri, kătri etc.

Exceptions : ũ kpu 'bread', ũ ruti 'loaf', etc.

19. The kinship terms generally take the masculine or feminine article according to the natural gender. That is common in Khasi as in other neighbouring languages. e. g.,

ũ kpā 'father'

kā kmīe 'mother'

ũ kñi/pānāh 'uncle'

kā kmīenah/ñia-kha 'aunt'

ū kpārād 'grand father'	kā kmīerād 'grand mother'
ū kīnum 'brother-in-law'	kā mīnkew 'sister-in-law'
ū sāheb/bābu 'gentleman'	kā mem/noñ'hikāi 'lady'
ū rāñsotti 'bachelor'	kā theisotti 'maid'

20. Another interesting function of these Khasi articles is that /ū/ or /kā/ will get place before a Khasi proper name to mean Mr. or Mrs./Miss. e. g., ū Mondon Bāreh 'Mr. Mondon Bāreh', Kā Tānsi Rinjāh 'Miss/Mrs. Tngensi Rynjah', etc.

21. At the last but not the least we must not neglect the use of /ū/ and /kā/ as third personal pronominal base for masc. sg. and fem. sg. respectively : /ū/ for 'he' and /kā/ for 'she'.

[Abbreviations : As. = Assamese. Bg. = Bengali, kām = Assamese Kamrupi Dialect, Read 'ñ' as 'ng']

The Semantic aspect of the Underworld language

Bhakti Prasad Mallik

As in any language, semantics forms an important study in the language of the underworld. John B. Carroll explains the phenomena of meanings by saying that "the meaning of a linguistic form is often treated under two headings : its denotative meaning and its connotative meaning." The denotative meaning is described as the "actual meaning of the form, while the connotative meaning refers to other meanings which the form may suggest" (Carroll p. 95).

Examples :

kathā ; kalsī ; kāṭā ; kāṭī and chakkā—denote speech ; jar ; to cut ; stick and six respectively, but when they are passed to the underworld, their connotative meanings will be as follows :—

Examples :

kathā ; telephone. kalsī : (1) buttock of a woman ; (2) wine-container. kāṭā ; (1) one-side edged knife ; (2) safety (safe for carrying knife). kāṭāe thākā : to be in safe. 3. handkerchief ; it may be from the sense of cut-piece of cloth. kāṭī : fountain-pen. chakkā : a kiss (cumā : a kiss). 'c' of cumā is the sixth consonant letter of the Bengali alphabet.

From the scattered meanings it may be easily formulated that "the study of linguistic meaning should be regarded as study of the speakers' adjustments to the situations" as Carroll says. In this case, of course the underworld meanings convey similar idea.

In the underworld of West-Bengal, it is observed that some of the common terms with the same meanings are still current among the criminals of Bengal, which, were in use in the past by the different criminal tribes of India,

Change of meaning "of a given linguistic form are essentially properties of a given individual's behavior at a given point of time and that they are subject to change depending up on new reinforcing conditions which may appear in that individual's environment" (Carroll, p. 96). This observation of Carroll is correct not only in case of normal language, but it is also a fact for the change of meaning in the underworld languages; as the process of change is mainly linguistic. In the underworld the word is mutilated or its meaning altered under certain conditions.

The different types of change of meaning or how the developments of meaning have taken place have been discussed in the following paragraphs :

Change of meaning :

A. Comparison :

pāṭi	lips < petals.
pāli	Govt. Currency notes. < rows.
bāsi	(1) human voice (2) flute (3) cigarette (4) fountain-pen < bamboo-flute.
bidhobā	(1) a boy without a girl friend < a widow.
bīṛi	a fountain-pen.
suto	neck-chain, thread.
suruā	blood, a soup.
surmā	ink used as collyrium.
sardi-khāsi	currency notes, while khāsi (= kāsī : cough) compares to the sounds of a coin.
haringhātā	a young girl < State Govt. dairy situated at this place.

B. Association :

khokā	wine < a child. A child is loved by every one, so is wine.
nāphā	side-pocket < munāphā : profit.
pur	currency notes < a fold, bundle.
bāpāri	1) a police-man who takes bribe < a trader.

bāekā	an umbrella. cf. B. bent.
soṭlā	a large amount of money < poṭlā.

C. Opposite Expression :

sujjā	dry breast. cf. H. sūjā : swollen.
uṭhāo	in "nausera" trick one who throws false gold on the way to induce a prospective victim < to pick up.
āoāj	a knife. It functions without making any sound.

Here, old words are used with new meanings or shades of meaning. This type of change is slow and is always backed by thought.

- D. Euphemistic change is a feature of their speeches and through it the cultural background of this sub-cultured class is indicated. It indicates "decency and propriety" (Words and Their Ways in English Speech, Greenough and Kittredge, 1961, p. 300).

Examples :

bādhā-paṛā	menstrual period. Used by the Bengali prostitutes.
saṛak-soāri	a beggar (< a street passenger) used by the Hindi speakers.
sorir-khārāp	menstrual period ; B. S. : prostitutes'.

- E. A thing or a person is designated by a name that which is connected with it.

Examples :

kāici	1) a gardener ; 2) a pick-pocket.
pāgrī	a gate-keeper < head-dress.
lāṭhi	a police.
bāṛi	a latrine cleaner.
kāc	diamond.

F. From a weaker to a stronger meaning :

āsāmi	a murderer. cf. an accused.
-------	-----------------------------

phāṇḍākār	gallows. cf. H. phandā ; noose.
zālm	a paid killer < Ar. zālim : cruel.

G. A Part for the whole :

palitā	flame to keep caṇḍu hot (an opium preparation) < wick.
peṭo	a bomb.
beni	a woman. cf. beṇī ; braided hair dressed by a woman looking like a tail.

A whole for a part :

biṭni	a female nipple. cf. H. biṭiyā : a daughter.
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H. Metaphor : In the field of semantics, it is the most striking feature of this language. Metaphoric changes are numerous.

Examples :

āṇṭi	waist of a girl. cf. ring.
nagin	a passive agent for sodomy. cf. H. a female serpent.
bāgbājār	zero.
billi	a prostitute. cf. H. a cat.
borphi	four. cf. borphi ; a kind of sweet-meat with four equal sides.
boṭā-kāṭā bel-phul	female nipple, compared with a jessmine flower without its stalk.
monṣā	a vixen woman. cf. snake-goddess.

Metaphoric changes follow a definite principle, as different animate and inanimate objects are indicated by the use of a particular class of species etc. The following types of examples will explain the psychology of the underworld people.

- (a) To denote a person (especially a young woman) and body parts by the names of fruits, vegetables and different sorts of food.

Examples :

asok-phul	a menstruating girl. cf. aṣok-phul : red coloured flower of <i>Saraca Indica</i> .
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āmsi	a rickety girl <āmśī : dried mango dust.
kāndāi	female breasts <kādi, kāndi : bunch (of fruits etc.).
kācā-kalā	a minor girl.
jūi	a girl-friend.
ṭapāri	a girl <goose-berry.
cakleṭ (chocolate)	a thigh of a girl.
lāl-gajā	tongue <gajā, a tongue-shaped sweet prepared from flour.

(b) Names of different objects for agent nouns :

Examples :

ātap	a widow. The widows take sunned rice.
jhāṭā kāṭi	a tall and thin girl.
ṭhāṇḍā pāni	unresponsive wife or cold woman.
bastā	a person promised an employment but cheated.
bāṭi	a passive agent for sodomy.
bādhākopi	a Punjabi Sikh <cabbage.
parker-51	a cashier of a gang.

(c) Names of different species like animals, birds, fish etc. for agent nouns :

Examples :

kuttā	a contemptible person ; a police man.
khāek seāl	a police.
hanumānji	a male pervert.
hāenā	a selfish person.
bulldog	a reckless man.
chām	a girl <māch : fish.

(d) Human qualities for persons :

Examples :

ādat	an assumed eunuch <Ar. 'adat : habit.
uṇḍā	an attractive young woman <Ar. 'unda(h) : good ; noble.

(e) Names of diseases for persons/objects :

Examples :

mālerīā	a police man.
pilā	gold.

(f) Different physical features used to indicate young woman :**Examples :**

nāṭā	a short girl < short and stout.
bāṭul	a girl < short. it is opposite to tall.
	The women are generally shorter than the men.

(g) A body-part for agency :**Examples :**

āṭli	a pick-pocket < finger.
cok	a police.

(h) Time stands for a person :**Examples .**

paune-āṭṭā	a passive agent for sodomy.
	This term is used in the Calcutta-Maidan area where boys are recruited for immoral activities.

(i) Numeral for persons and different objects :**Examples :**

dahalā-nahalā	movements of female buttock during a walk.
chakkā-pānjā	do.
pancabāj	one who leaves a victim at five-point crossing of a thorough-fare after a snatch.
sāttā	a lame man < sāt; seven.
sāltā	a revolver < sāt.

(j) Deeds or objects connected with the doer :**Examples :**

mālābi	a thief. cf. bāmāl : booty > bemāl > mālbe < mālābi.
saṇṭā	a tram or bus conductor. cf. ghaṇṭā : a bell.

(k) Onomatopœia :

l. for agency :

Examples :

huski	a pick-pocket.
hushus	a police.

2. For commodity :

nāgḍumāḍum	a male upper under-garment.
ḍhalḍhal	a female under-garment.

3. One element of a compound as onomatopœtic :

phucu-māl, -kal	a cigarette-lighter.
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(l) One part of the body for another one :

Examples :

ākh	female breasts. cf. E. S. big brown eyes.
-----	---

(m) Body-part for an object :

Examples :

ānūl	1. a gold ring ; 2. typewriter.
ākh	spectacles.
kobji	wrist-watch.

(n) Agent noun for commodities :

Examples :

phāgli	wink < pāgli : a mad woman.
khokā	wine < a child.

In the above exmples different psychological aspects are indicated viz. after a drink one behaves like a mad person and again, wine is as dear as one's child.

(o) Food words for different objects :

Examples :

ām	a bomb.
anḍā	an electric bulb.

But maximum food words are used to denote a hand-bomb.

(p) Colour for a commodity, object, various physical states, establishments etc., etc.

Examples :

āltā	blood cf. lac-dye.
kālo	1. opium. 2. cocaine : by extension of meaning.
nāl	a prison < lāl.
pīlā	gold < yellow disease.
pulis haoā	menstrual period, cf. red turban of a police.
sādā	(1) a cigarette (2) potassium (3) moon-lit night (4) silver (5) an empty purse : it is an extension of No 4.
sonāli	gold.
holdi, holde	gold.
holdi-bhāt, pilā-bhāt	rich curry served to a prostitute's pet man.
holud-āqāqā	a jeweller's shop.

q. Cause for an effect :

Examples ;

pālok	titillation < feather,
-------	------------------------

r. Effect for a cause :

bājā	(1) gramophone (2) radio (3) revolver.
kāṭos	scissors : especially one tagged with a spring to cut necklāce.
kāpā	a fever.

s. Different concepts are indicated by different words without any rhyme and reason, especially monetary amount is indicated often by -sāṛi/-ser

Examples :

saoā-sāṛi	rupees five.
sāṛe bāro ser	rupees fifty.
sāṛe sātero ser	rupees seventy.
sāṛe baīs ser	rupees ninety.
pāo sāṛi	rupees ten.

All the above discussed categories like an ordinary language may be classified under three heads as, Contraction, Expansion and Transference of meanings.

I. BY CONTRACTION :

aṇṭi	1. waist. 2. by further contraction, it is waist of a girl.
āiranch	steel almirah < iron.
pāṭili	a plate < H. pātīlī : utensil.
popṛi	an old and ugly prostitute < H. poplī : toothless old woman ; a class by contraction.
besāti	prostitution (< marketing).
bāṭul	a girl, cf. a stout and short person.
bājjhā	an ugly woman < B. bāje : useless.
sāṭhi	a heavy stick < lāṭhi.
sarwāzā	main door. cf. a door.
sāmmā	headlight of a car. < H. śamā : light.
full-raṅ	a murder. cf. raṅ : colour. > redcolour (- blood.)

II. BY GENERALISATION :

umrā	room, house cf. upar (= upper) + kāmra (room).
ejid	hangman cf. yazid.
nagdi	money cf. nagdī : cash.
phuṭi	small coins. cf. A paisa was with a hollow. It is a generalisation of meaning.
behulā	a bride < daughter-in-law of Cād Sadāgar.
lochā	an ornament cf. H. an ornament for hands and feet.

III. BY TRANSFERENCE :

ābchā-megh	dark night. Transference of meaning from 'the shades of clouds'.
porcā	pornograph < H. purjā : bill, draft.
bālā	hand-cuffs < bangles.

bhāji.	liquor < bhāji : fried and backed food. With liquor often fried and backed food is taken.
signboard-olā	a married woman.

Abbreviations.

B. S.—Bengali Slang.

E. S.—English Slang.

H.—Hindi.

A Note on the use of Participle in Hindi

Dayanand Srivastav

The Present Participle.

(a) The Present or Imperfect Participle in Hindi has two forms :-(i) in the base form, in-*anta* (ii) in - *tā*, and inflected -*te*, form.

The present participle in -*anta* is a rare phenomenon, and is an archaic survival or a tatsama adoption and is pure adjective, e.g. *jīvanta prāṇī*, living creature BYB ; *maranta yauvana*—the fading youth. RC ; *jayanta yodhā*—the victorious warrior.

(b) The imperfect participle in -*tā* represents the regular development of MIA -*anta* to *tā*, and is a regular feature in the compound and participial tenses and compound verbs. The inflected -*te* is mostly adverbial in nature, for it exhibits an adverbial relation to the finite verb, and it indicates the condition under which the work is being performed. The adverbial use of the present participle with an inflected or oblique form is attested in other NIA languages. See ODBL. 733 1000-1001.

(c) Since the early stratum of the language the present participle had been fossilised as an adverbial participle. These adverbial participles qualify the grammatical subject and are often repeated to express the distributive idea or stress the continuity of the action ; e.g. *aur āga bana khaṇḍa ko jalātī jalātī kabā āī*—and continuously burning the forest the fire came to a place PS. The absolute use of the present adverbial participle with the enclitic -*hī* is a regular feature in the language. e.g. *sūrya ke udaya hote hī*—the sun having risen PP. 759. With the enclitic -*hī* and *mātra*, the present participle behaves like the past participle. e.g. *chuṭate hī uṭha baiṭhe* PP. 610 This use of the participle bears a close affinity in meaning with the absolute use of the present participle. Similarly the present participle

with the enclitic *-hī* explains the cause that leads the final action, e.g. *kṛṣṇa kā janma sunate hī kansa daratā kāpatā uṭha khaḍā huā*—having heard (on account of hearing) the birth of Krishna, Kansa fearing and trembling stood up PS. It is to be noted that the participle under discussion is passive in meaning.

(d) The compound present participle with enclitic adverb *santā*, is rare but a remarkable phenomenon to be mentioned. This feature is partly Sanskritism and partly emphatical, e.g. *garva ko na sahata santā senā viṣaya praveśa karatā bhayā*—not having tolerated the pride (of the enemy) (he) entered the army PP. 504.

(d) There are some instances where the present participle is indistinguishable from the infinitive or verbal noun. This present participle is really a periphrastic infinitive. e.g. *kucha diṇa ke bīte par*—on some days having past AP. (absolute, locative); *hāya tuma se kaise jāte banatā hai*—alas! how is the going possible by you. RC. This use of the participle in Hindi bears a close similarity with the similar use of the participle in Bengali. cf. 'There are some instances where the participle is almost indistinguishable from infinitive; e.g. *bulite tora mana baṛa sukha in speaking or to speak such words great delight (fills) your heart* kk. NO, vide. Syntax of Middle Bengali. Mss.

(e) The substantive use of the present participle is a regular phenomenon and is broadly classified as—

- (i) The Adjectival use.
- (ii) The Nominal use.

As an adjective the present participle is used both as the attributive and predicative. As an adjective the participle has the following functions.

(i) It defines a noun, (ii) It expresses a quality or state in general. e. g. (i) *hate yodhā rapa bhūmi mē paḍe hai*—the slain warriors are lying (dead) in the battle field PP: 795. (ii) The nominal use of the present participle is illustrated in the following—*sote kā palaṅga le uṭhāy a*—having lifted the bedstead of the sleeping. PS.

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B

The past prticipie

(a) The past participle in Hindi has the-*ā* form, which is a regular development of OIA (§) *ta* (vide. ODBL. § 734) and is a regular feature in the participial and compound tenses, and the compound verbs.

(b) The adverbial past participle denotes the circumstance or condition, and it has originated from the absolute use of the participle, e.g. *dekhē to ek a ajagar unkā pāvā pakaḍe paḍā hai*—(he) saw that a python coiled in his feet is lying. PS.

(c) The passive absolute instrumental -locative use of the perfect participle is an interesting feature, e.g. ; *man diye bhakti mile*—the heart having given, the devotion is obtained. BYB.

This idiom of the passive perfect instrumental -locative participle can also be explained as the conjunctive participle. It is a historical idiom, and it goes back to OIA and MIA respectively. See ODBL. 738—1006.

(d) The past participle behaves like *action nomina* in connection with the prepositive adverb *vin* or *vinā* ; e. g. *vin roye na rahā* ; PS. *tore āye vin kathā na kahēge*—CV. Historically it is an instrumental idiom. cf. *settumja gira sevyā vyanā*, without having worshipped the Sateumjay mountain. Tessitori—Notes on the Grammar of Old Western Rāgasthāni—128(1) 103. Also cf. Old Bengālī. *bini rati pāile toka cheribe kānha*—Krishna will not let you go without having obtained 'rati'. Syntax of Early and Middle Bengālī.

The following are the idioms of the passive instrumental-locative of past participle—*dūdha pilāye viṣa baḍhe*. PS ; *smaraṅ a kiye vighna dūra hota hai* PS. This use of the past participle is a kind of absolute construction in the instrumental-locative. Also cf. OWR. *madya pidhai gahilāi karaū*—having drunk wine, you behave like a mad. Tessitori. 128(2) 103.

The substantive use of the past participle is attested in the following—

(a) The adjectival use-*vina cuparṭi roti*—unbuttered bread. CV. In this idiom the passive adjectival past participle

also behaves like *actions nomina* in connection with the proclitic prepositive *vina*. (b) The Nominal use—*merī kahī māno*—you follow my said (words) *ĀV*, *hate ko dekha*, having seen the slain. PP. The perfect participle as the second member of a periphrastic verb is some times adverbial in nature—e. g. *sītā ke hātha gahe uṭhe*—having the hold of Sita's hand (Ram) stood. PP.

(C)

The Conjunctive Participle.

The conjunctive participle in Hindi has the following forms—

- (a) The root form.
- (b) The periphrastic conjunctive with *ke*, *kar*, *karke*, and archaic *karīke*.
- (c) The *-i* conjunctive, as in *viloki* (having seen—the archaic form.) O
- (d) The *-a* conjunctive as is *viloka* (archaic).

As regards the enclitic *-ke*, in the periphrastic conjunctive, there is some confusion among the Hindi grammarians. They generally believe that *-ke* in the conjunctive is nothing but an extension of the genitive *-ke*, which itself is nothing but the inflected plural form of the *-kā* genitive. No doubt, both the genitive *-ke* and the conjunctive *-ke* are derivative of \sqrt{kr} , but they have followed two different lines of development. The genitive *-ke* is the oblique plural form of *kā*, which is derived from *kṛta* > *kaa* > *kā*. But the conjunctive *-ke* is indeclinable and has followed the following process of development—*kṛte* (locative singular of the passive participle), > *kai* > *ke*. The form *kar* follows the following line of development. *karita* > *karia* > *kari* > *kar*. It is very remarkable here that the dative-accusative *-ko* is also derived from *kr* as *kṛtam* > *kaam* > Ap. *kaū*, Braj. *kau*, *kó*. The *-e* of the conjunctive *dekhi*, *sunī*, according to Pischel comes from *—ya* > *-iā* > *i* (Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen, §§ 504–594. and quoted by Dr. Chatterjee in ODBL. § 738–1009.) But a better explanation is to take it as the originative of the passive participle *-ita*; e.g. **drksita* > *dekkhīa* > *dekhi* > *deki* > *dekha*.

Very rarely the conjunctive is used absolutely ; i. e. it has its subject other than the finite verbs, and thus it should be regarded as an alternate expression of the adverbial past participle denoting condition. This was a regular idiom in classical Sanskrit (vide UCVP. Page 7), and it clearly speaks of the origin of the conjunctive from the instrumental absolute., e. g. *ṭumhē dekha kāmā vāṇa vadhatā hai*, (I) having seen you, the arrow of the cupid smites (me). PP.

The conjunctive intensifies the meaning of the finite verb, i.e. it explains the reason or cause, which, mostly is instrumental, e.g. *sūrya ast ta hoya asta ko prāpta bhaye*—being fatigued, the sunset PP. *nagara ko jalatā dekha sab yaduvansī bhaya khāya pukāre*—having seen the city in flames, all the family of yadu cried out with fear. PS. It is to be mentioned here that the idioms illustrated are virtually passive -compound conjunctive-participles.

The conjunctive, in quite a good number of cases, is attested as periphrastic instrumental, and the conjunctive form of the verb *ho* also appears as proclitic prepositive e.g. *rāma rāja mārga hoya gaye* (*rāja mārgaṇa*) PP.

The conjunctive sometimes semantically behaves as locative of goal e.g. *kathana kaha na āwe*—description comes not (in) saying PP., *sun na āve*—does not come (in) hearing. NT.. The conjunctives in these idioms are really verbal nouns.

The conjunctive regularly features as the initial member of the compound verbs, mostly in potentials and intensives. The absolute use of the past participle as the conjunctive participle is also attested—*kucha kucha kāla bite*—a short time having elapsed PP., *aneka varṣa gaye*—many years having passed ; RC. *samaya cūki puni kṛ pachitāne* ; once the proper time is over, what is the use of regretting.

Abbreviations.

BYB=Bhāṣāyoga Baṣiṣṭha.

ODBL. Origin and Development of Bengali Language:

PS. Prem Sāgara.

PP. Padma Purāṇa.

RC. Rama Carita.

AP—Ādipurāṇa.

NT. Nāsiketo pākhyana.

UC. VC. Use of cases in Vedic Prose.

CV. Caurāsi Vārtā

OWR, OLd wertern Rājarthānī

N. T. Nāsiketo Pākhyāna

UCVP. Use of cases in Vedic Prose,

A Philological Study of Vedic "Vrāta"

D. N. Basu

I

Methodology

The scope of Philology is sometimes described to be different from that of Linguistics,—the main point of difference being that it studies "the language and its literature and of all the civilisational phenomena of a people or of a group of peoples as given in the written records" (GRAY, p. 3) and in this respect the most important branch of Philology would be a systematic study of the words wherein the civilisational phenomena of the members of a linguistic community are mainly manifested. Semantics, the branch of the study of the words, of both synchronistic and diachronistic types, is inadequate for it. The words already in use in the literary documents to express ideas belonging to a particular "concept sphere" ("Sinnbezirk" as named by Jost Trier who has introduced the Linguistic Field theory in Structural Semantics) are to be studied in as much detail as possible. A word is generally not fixed for conveying one and the same meaning in all the different contexts amongst the linguistic community of a certain area, throughout the history of its development. In different contexts, a word is often used to denote varied shades of meaning, viz. etymological, conventional, figurative etc. The synonyms of the particular word are to be carefully distinguished with reference to their actual occurrences in the texts. It is also necessary to discriminate the homonyms with special care. The attitude of the linguistic community with respect to polysemy for a certain sense-group or concept-sphere, the changing pattern of synonym and the neologistic spirit and its clash with conventionalism and some other tendencies like making of myths and legends etc. can also be studied

by this sort of philological study of words which as a new discipline may be termed "Lexicology".

If there was a lexicon or lexicons where different instances of every word in different contexts from all the texts of the successive periods having different shades of meaning were noted, the lexicological study would be easier. Although there are very good lexicons in Vedic and Classical Sanskrit such as that of Roth and Böhtlingk, Monier Williams etc. we find that all the different shades of meanings of the words in different texts are not distinguished in any of them and some of the meanings are controversial and not universally acceptable. Regarding the meanings of words in the Vedas there are generally wide differences of interpretations between the Indian commentators and the European scholars. The former have predilections for religious interpretations in almost all cases and for fanciful derivations, which are mostly rejected by European scholars on the basis of Comparative Philology. But Comparative Philology is generally helpless to determine the meanings of the cognates in allied languages which are sometimes varying. The speculation of the European scholars, to establish an equation of the early Indian society with the social structures of the Ancient Greeks Romans and Teutons on the *a priori* assumption of a primitive society in Vedic India is not very satisfactory. But their interpretations of the social aspect in the religious concepts, the making of myths, etc., the hero worship leading to deification appear to be very sound in many places. But again their materialistic minds often ignore the symbolical or figurative meanings of words, the subtle poetic touches that abound in the early Indian texts and they often mistake the old Vedic words (e. g. *grāma* translated by "village") by attributing the post-Vedic meaning that is current in Classical Sanskrit.

II

"Vrāta" in the Ṛgveda :

In RV the use of *Vrāta* is found in eight instances : *vrātaṃ vrātaṃ* twice in the older texts, in III, 26, 6, and V,

53, 11, *vrātasāhāḥ* once, in VI, 75, 9; in Maṇḍala IX *vrātāḥ* (IX, 14, 2) and in I, 103, 8, *vrātāsas*; in X, 34, 8. X, 34, 12 and X, 57, 5 *vrātāḥ*, *vrātasya* and *vrātam* respectively.

vrātam-vrātam is evidently adverbial and is followed by a similar compound word *gaṇām-gaṇam* in both the instances. In V, 53, 11 (1) there is besides another similar compound word *śārdham-śardham*. In III 26, 6 (2) there is no *śārdham-śardham* but the expression *vrātam-vrātam gaṇām-gaṇam suśastibhiḥ* is common. According to some European scholars like Griffith and Geldner, *vrātas* and *gaṇas* in both the instances denote the bands of the invokers. Oldenberg again thinks that the *vrātas* and *gaṇas* are of the Maruts, as Max Müller also suggests in his translation of V, 53, 11. Sāyaṇa, however, seems to understand that the *vrātas* and the *gaṇas* in III, 26, 6 are of the *suśastis* made by the invokers and that *śardhas* in V, 53, 11 denote the hosts of the Maruts, as *va eṣām* following *śārdham-śardham* is connected with it. In the latter instance *vrāta* with *gaṇa* and *śardha* may refer to the hosts of the Maruts. But in the former Marut's power is not the only object of prayer but also Agni's lustre. In view of this difference of views it is very difficult to say what is actually denoted by *vrāta* and *gaṇa*, but it can be said that the word *vrāta* like *gaṇa* indicates a group of people. In V, 53, 11, Sāyaṇa suggests that *gaṇa* is the group of seven but *vrāta* is *avivakṣitagaṇa*, where the group is not definite. In III, 26, 6 *vrātam vrātam* is *pratisamūham* and *gaṇam-gaṇam* is *mahati samūhe*.

vrātasāhāḥ in VI, 75, 9 (3) qualifies *pitarāḥ*, which Sāyaṇa explains as *rathasya pālayitārāḥ*, the verse being *rathagōpastuti*. According to some European scholars *pitarāḥ* denotes "the

(1) *śārdham-śardham va eṣām vrātamvrātam gaṇām-gaṇam suśastibhiḥ/*

(2) *vrātam-vrātam gaṇām-gaṇam suśastibhir agnēr bhāmanī marūtām ōja īmahē/*

(3) *svādusaṃsadaḥ pitāro vayodhāḥ kṛcchreśrītaḥ śāktīvaṃto gabhīrāḥ/citrasenā iṣuvalā āmr̥dhṛāḥ satōvīrā urāvo vrātasāhāḥ/*

the verse actually describes a procession of victory as Geldner opines, or the hosts of non-martial people accompanying the bridegroom, if it is a marriage-procession, as Griffith suggests. Sāyaṇa's meaning of *vrātāsas* as the "multitude of other horses" is also tenable, in which case the word denotes "multitude in general" without any specification of the group, human or divine. (Uvaṇa and Mahidhara's interpretations of *vrātāsas* as *paśusamghāḥ* and *manuṣyasamghāḥ* respectively and Veṅkaṭamādhava's *aśvarakṣiṇaḥ* seems to be less suitable.)

In X, 57, 5 (°) *vrātam*, qualified by *jīvam*, seems to stand in verbal association with *daivyaḥ janaḥ* in the preceding line. The latter, meaning "the heavenly folk" stands seemingly in contrast with the host of living animals in the world suggested by *jīvaṃ vrātam*. Such a play of words is very often seen in RV. *Vrāta* is thus a word of multitude like *jana* but it may have a wider significance to take all the living animals in its fold.

In X, 34, 12 (°) and X, 34, 8 (°) there are uses of the word *vrāta* denoting the host of dice. This is thus a figurative application meaning the group of non-human objects like the dice. *Vrātasya* in X, 34, 12 again connected with *rājā* as verbally associating with *senānīr mahato gaṇasya* probably with a contrasting idea and we find that the leader of the *gaṇa* is *senānīr* and of the *vrāta* is *rājā*. *Vrāta* has thus necessarily no military significance as *rājā* may be "the lord" (*īśvara*).

(4) *ānu tvā rātho ānu mūryo ārvannānu gāvo'nu bhagaḥ kanīnām/*
anu vrātāsas tāva sakhyāmīyur ānu devā mamīra vīryam te/

(5) *minarnaḥ pitaro māno dadātu dāivyo jānaḥ/jīvam vrātam*

Besides the conventional sense of "the multitude" mostly used in the case of the Maruts' troops and also in the general sense and the figurative employment of the word to take the multitude of dice, *vrāta* appears to be once used in a derivational sense. *Pañca vrātāḥ* in X, 14, 2 ⁽⁸⁾ seems to denote *pañca vrātinaḥ*, the five priests or men avowed for a religious practice. (It may be the four priests with the sacrificer. The word is therefore either employed by the composer in the derivational sense or a homonym in currency at the time.

III

Subsequent occurrences :

In the Yajurveda and the later texts, the occurrence of the word *vrāta* is found mostly in the RV lines repeated or quoted. For instance, RV X, 87, 5 is repeated in YV.—VS (Mādhyandina) III, 55. TS I, 8, 5, 3. MS I, 10, 3. KS IX, 6. KapS VIII, 9. and in AV.—Rai II, 10, 4; RV I, 163; 8, repeated in VS (M) XXIX 19. TS IV, 6, 7, 3. KS XLVI, 3.; RV VI, 75, 9 repeated in VS (M) XXIX, 46. TS IV, 6, 6, 3. MS III, 16, 3. KS XLVI, 1; etc. In the Śatarudrīya hymn of the YV.—VS (M) XVI, 25; TS IV, 5, 4, 1; MS II, 19, 4; KS XVII, 13 KapS XXVII, 3:

namo gaṇebhyo gaṇapatibhyaśca vo namo

namo vrātebhyo vrātapatibhyaśca vo namo.....

we find *gaṇa* and *gaṇapati* used parallelly with *vrāta* and *vrātapati*, and it is commented upon: *vrātā nānājātīyānām saṃghās tebhyo namaḥ/vrātapālakā vrātapatayas tebhyo namaḥ*/The use of *gaṇa* and *vrāta* here as synonymous seems to be similar to that of RV III, 26, 6; V, 53, 11; X, 34, 12.

In AV (Śau) II, 9, 20 —

*ġgād udagād ayam jīvānām vrātam āpyagāt/ābhūd u putrā-
nām pitṛā nr̥ṇām ca bhagavattamaḥ*// a new use of *vrāta* is found. Whitney unnecessarily translates the word by "the troop"; Bloomfield's "the community of the living" seems better. The difference of this expression with *jīvaṃ vrātam*

(8) *girā yādī sábamdhavaḥ páñca vrātā apasyúvaḥ pariṣkṛvānti
dharmasim*//

in RV X, 57, 5 is noticeable. In the latter the word functions probably as a substantivizing collective word like *jana* (e.g. *daivyo janaḥ* is "those who are divine") and the expression might have denoted "those who are living". But in the AV instance the collective or group sense only prevails.

In ŚatBr. (Mādh.) II, 6, 1, 39 and (Kāṇ) I, 6, 1, 26 *jīvaṃ vrātaṃ sacemahi* (RV X, 57, 5) is quoted. In TaiBr. I, 7, 4, 3 the occurrence of *vrāta* is significant: "*rājyamevāsmīn pratidadhāti...śucer mītrasya vratyā abhūmetyāhaśucim evainam vratyam karoti...sarve vrātā varuṇasyābhūvann iyāha/sarva-vrātaṃ evainam karoti/...*"

In TāṇḍyaBr. there are a few instances of the use of *vrāta*. In VI, 9, 24 "*dauidyutasyā ruceti vrātāya pratipadam kuryāt*" and *vrāta* here is justified by Śāyaṇa thus: *bahuśabdo yajamāna-bahutvamātram apēksate vrātaśabdastu paraspara-sakhibhūtayajamāna-samdāyam ato na puṇaruktīḥ*"

In VI, 9, 25 "*chandāṃsīva khalu vai vrātopadeśapratipad bhavati*" *vrāta* is used to signify the entire metres. In VI, 9, 26 *vrddhā vā eta indriyena vīryena yadvrāta indriyam vīryam chandāṃsīndriyenaivaināvīryena samardhayati*, "*vrāta* seems to have been used in the sense of the company of sacrificers.

In XVII, 1, 5 "*adhāhīndragirvaṇa*" *iti viṣamaṃ chando viṣama iva vai vrātaḥ sarvān evaitān samān karoti*, *vrāta* is explained by the commentator as *vrātyasamudāyaḥ* and *vrātya* as *vividhānācārayukṭā*. In XVII, 1, 11 *...atho khalvāhuḥ "adarsi gātuvittama" ityeva satobḥataḥ kṛyamaṃ viṣama iva vai vrātaḥ sarvānevainan satobḥataḥ karoti*" also *vrāta* is explained as *vrātyasamudāya*. The connection of the word with *vrātya* seems to be forced and fanciful. But its meaning of "the group" is clear.

IV

Conclusion :

The nuclear meaning of *vrāta* in RV appears to be "the multitude" or "the band". In different contexts the band is of men, of gods, of horses (?) and of dice (in figurative application).

It is used as a synonym of *gaṇa* in RV and in the Śatarudrīya litany of YV. The essential meaning of *gaṇa* in RV appears to be "the retinue" or "the band of followers". *Gaṇa* refers to the Maruts, the band of followers of Indra, it also refers to the Aṅgirasas, who are the followers of Bṛhaspati, it also refers to the band of worshippers, i.e. the followers of Agni, etc. *Gaṇa* gradually casts off the sense-element of "followers" and becomes restricted in use to refer to the gods who are known in bands such as the Maruts who are in seven groups of seven, the Rudras who are thirty three, the Ādityas, the Vasus. Besides referring to the banded gods, *gaṇa* is also used to denote the set collection of *mantras*, the semantic change being from "the band of followers" to "the band" "the banded ones" *Gaṇa* and *vrāta* occurring together in RV., the former may refer to "the followers" and *vrāta* may be the group of people collected all around for a common purpose. There is another word, *grāma*, in RV, which in a few instances appear to be synonymous with *vrāta*, denoting "the group of men united by settling together in a place". The word is probably derived from L. A. *gr* < IE. *ger* (to assemble) (cf. Gk. *agora*, L. *grix*, *gregis*.) The semantic change of *grāma* however to "the settlement" occurs even in the other instances of RV. The word *vrāta* on the other hand might have been derived from IA *vr* < IE *uer* (to enfold). Roth gives a similar derivation of *vrā*, which occurs six times in RV, from *var* (i.e. *vr*) having the sense of "the accompanying ones", "the united ones". This word *vrā* is considered by Sāyaṇa and Grassmann to be attenuated from *vrāta*. But according to Bergaigne (in *Qarante Hymnes du RV*) the word denotes "females as lure". Pischel in *Vedische Studien* II and Geldner in his translations have also suggested similar meanings. In view of these views, which cannot be ignored, we cannot consider *vrā* to be the attenuated form of and having the same meaning of *vrāta*. *Vrātya* does not seem to be connected with *vrāta*. (It may however be connected with *vrata*). *Vrāta* at the period of RV. seems to have generally the sense of "a body of men joining together for a certain common purpose". But as *pañca vrāta* in RV. might have been used in confusion with *pañca vratinah*, later, when the word was obsolete it was confused with *vrātya*, as we find Patāñjali

commenting on Pāṇ. V, 2, 21 "nānājātīyā aniyata-vṛttiyā
utsedhajīvināḥ vṛātāḥ". *Vṛāta* appears to be obsolescent beyond
the RV period. Whenever there is any new use of the word in
the later texts, generally the sense of "a collection" or "a band"
is attributed. Of the words belonging to the sense group of the
social group, *vṛāta* is lost in oblivion and in place of this
word meaning "company" or "band", *gaṇa*, *samūha* etc. have
gradually come into use.

Cāṇḍideva's Prakṛta-dīpikā a commen-
tary on Kramadīśvara's Prakṛit
Grammar—identical with the
Vṛtti of Jumarānandī*

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In editing Kramadīśvara's Prakṛit Grammar appended to his Saṃkṣiptasāra, I have consulted five manuscripts designated by me as A, B, C, C₁ and V. The manuscripts A & B are found in the Asiatic Society and in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat, Calcutta. C & C₁ stand for the MSS deposited in the University of Calcutta, and the manuscript V, found in the Viśva-Bhāratī of Śāntiniketan, is only fragmentary. Besides these, there is one printed edition in Nāgri Script designated by me as P, which was badly and uncritically edited in the year 1886, and this very printed edition had been utilised by Pischel for his Prakṛit Grammar. There are other three printed editions in Bengali character (known as P₁, P₂ & P₃) which have been copied *ad verbatim* from the P. All these P₁, P₂ & P₃ are complete (i. e., including Sanskrit portion) and full of mistakes.

It is to be noted here that all the sūtras and the Vṛttis of these five manuscripts and the printed editions are identical. It is generally known from the colophon and from the commentary of Goyācandra belonging approximately to the 12th to 13th centuries A. D. that the sūtras have been composed by Kramadīśvara and the Vṛttis by Jumarānandī.

It is to be pointed out here that there is another commentary, called Prākṛta-dīpikā written by Cāṇḍidevaśarmā, on the Prakṛit portion of Kramadīśvara's Saṃkṣiptasāra. This very manuscript of Cāṇḍidevaśarmā was first utilised by Christian Lassen in

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his *Institutiones Linguae Pracriticae* published in the year 1837 from Bonnae ad Rhenum. He has not given a complete text of his Prakrit grammar, but some important portions of the text (with the exclusion of Mahārāṣṭrī dialect) have been dealt with. The text as given by Lassen is as follows :

- A. Text of Māgadhi — p. 393.
- B. „ „ Paisācī — pp. 440-41.
- C. „ „ Apabhraṃśa — pp. 449-53.
- D. „ „ Śaurasenī — pp. 50-51 (Appendix).

Lassen's stress was mainly on the fifth chapter of his Prakrit grammar, i. e. the chapter which deals with the Apabhraṃśa, Śaurasenī, Māgadhi, Paisācī and other sub-dialects. Lassen has also discussed analytically the main peculiarities of these dialects which are based on Vararuci and Kramadīśvara. In pp. 39-49 of the Appendix (Excursus V Ad Librum II) he has given in a nutshell some abstracts of the first and second chapters (i. e. vowels and consonants) of the text of Kramadīśvara's Prakrit grammar with a constant reference to the sūtras of Vararuci. In instituting this comparison Lassen has quoted only a few important extracts (sometimes only one or two words) from the manuscript consulted and collated by him, in order to show the variations from Vararuci. In several other places, a few sūtras or lines from the manuscript have also been quoted, and I have consulted them in their respective places.

Lassen himself notes that the Prakrit portion of Kramadīśvara's grammar has been taken from a manuscript found in Paris. He also informs us that the name of the commentary (vṛtti) of this manuscript is Prākṛta-dīpikā by Caṇḍidevaśarmā. The beginning of the manuscript of Prākṛta-dīpikā by Caṇḍidevaśarmā, as quoted by Lassen, is as follows :—

Om namaḥ Śivāya/

praṇamya gurum ānandaṃ sāndra-kārunya-vāridhim/
 Śrīkṛṣṇākhyam paramātmānam tadīyapṛīti-hetave//
 Śobhākara-kulodbhūta-Śrīcaṇḍīdeva-śarmaṇa/
 kriyate' śāmapādasya tīkā Prākṛta-dīpikā//

It is important to note here that just after a century, Luigia Nitti-Dolci has also consulted the same manuscript preserved in the Biblitheque Nationale, Paris, (Skt. Coll. No. 578), the beginning of which is also the same, as given by Lassen, with a slight variation. Dolci has also informed us that the eighth pāda of Kramadīśvara's Saṃkṣiptasāra was made known to Europe by Father Pons, a Jesuit missionary, who sent a copy of the same to Royal Library in 1733. Dolci is of opinion that so far as known to her, this is the only manuscript in Europe, with Bengali character, of the 8th pāda of Saṃkṣiptasāra, which was probably copied in the 17th century. It is this Bengali manuscript of Paris which had been utilised by Lassen in his *Institutiones*. This very manuscript of Prākṛta-dīpikā by Caṇḍidevaśarmā, says she, was copied by Jacquet for Lassen. This copy was done so carefully, Dolci says, that it can easily replace the original. This manuscript bears no date. It has 36 folios and has the same colophon with that of A, C and C₁.

Two years later, Nicolas Delius had also utilised the same manuscript and appended the Dhātvādeśa portion of his *Prakrit Grammar* to his *Radices Pracriticae*, Bonnae ad Rhenum, 1839, which is regarded as a supplement to Lassen's *Institutiones*. We are, therefore, fortunate enough to consult the Dhātvādeśa portions of Caṇḍidevaśarmā's commentary with the help of Delius's *Radices*.

Now, from the description of L (=Lassen) and D (=Delius) above, we are in a position to say that we have been able to consult partly the Prākṛta-dīpikā of Caṇḍidevaśarmā, although we cannot definitely assert this until the manuscript of Caṇḍideva as consulted and collated by Lassen, Delius and Dolci has personally been examined by me in its entirety. It is said above that Lassen and Dolci have quoted the beginnings from this manuscript in which the name Caṇḍideva along with his tīkā Prākṛta-dīpikā has occurred. We have also noticed that Lassen and Delius have presented us many portions, such as, Māgadī, Śaurasenī, Paiśācī, Apabhraṃśa, Dhātvādeśa and others, from this manuscript. This gives us some opportunity to consult,

compare and contrast the texts of Lassen and Delius with those of the manuscripts, A, B, C, C₁ and V, consulted and collated by me. On closer analysis and examination, it is observed that the portions edited by Lassen and Delius are perfectly in common with the manuscripts A, B, C, C₁ and V, save and except a few readings of L and D which can easily be regarded as variants. It is curious enough to note again that the sūtras and the commentary thereon, are exactly the same with the edited portions of Lassen and Delius. The following, for example, can be cited :

Chapters and No. sūtras.	Text of L. D.	Manuscripts A, B, C, C ₁ V and P.
Ch. I Sū. 8	lavaṇa-vadarayor nityam : loṇaṃ, voram : (LP. 40 APP)	Sū. 8 lavaṇa-vadara- yor nityam : loṇaṃ, voram :
„ „ „ 14	ādīdūtaśca samyukte : kajjam, karanijjam, sujjo : (LP. 40 APP). In L (P. 40 APP) the first chapter ends with Svara-kāryam nirvṛttam.	„ „ 14 ādīdūtaśca sam- yukte : kajjam, karanijjam, sujjo : So also in A,B,C, C ₁ and P.
„ II „ 2	kvacid yatvam vā : gayaṇam, gayaṇam vā : (LP. 41 APP)	„ 2 kvacid yatvam vā : gaṇam. gayaṇam vā :
„ „ „ 3	kvacid vatvam vā : suhao, suhavo vā :	„ 3 kvacid vatvam vā : Suhao, suhavo vā :

Chapters and No. sūtras.	Text of L. D.	Manuscripts A, B, C, C ₁ V and P.
Ch. IV Sū 46	jalpādir jalpādeḥ : jalpāder dhātoḥ sthane jalpādir bhavati// jampai : After this D gives a long list of root- substitutes. (De- lius's Dhātuvādeśa p. 10)	„ 46 jalpādir jampādiḥ : jalpāder dhatoḥ sthāne jampādir bhavati// jampai : After this A,B,C, C ₁ and V (also P) give a long list of root-substitutes. The number is a bit lesser than D.
„ V „ 86	Māgadhyāṃ ṣasoḥ śaḥ : „	86 Māgadhyāṃ ṣasoḥ śaḥ :
„ „ „ 87	ro laḥ :	„ 87 ro laḥ :
„ „ „ 88	yapacavargayuktā manāguccāryāḥ : (Lassen P. 393)	„ 88 ṣaṭa vaga yuktā manāguccāryāḥ : A = yaṭa cavarga etc.

Examples need not be multiplied. In this way, if the whole text is reproduced, identical readings (excepting a few variants) will be noticed. Furthermore, Lassen and Delius have, sometimes presented us a better type of readings which has, therefore, been incorporated in the text, where all the manuscripts are not clear. As, for example, under the sūtra—“*śayyāder et*” (1.4) the word “*vandā*” is given as one of the words belonging to this class of “*ākṛtīgaṇa*” in all the manuscripts as well as in the printed editions. Lassen's quotation contains “*vallā*”, although the ligature is “*vandā*” and this gives me support of my emended reading as [vallā]; because, in all the texts

of the eastern grammarians, under the same "*ākṛti-gaṇa*", the word "*vaḷḷ*" is found and not "*vandī*".

Similarly, in A, B, C, C₁ V and P the readings of the two sūtras, such as :

(i) "*gāhulyādir gāthāder alpādau*" (Sū. V. 14 Printed Edn.),
gāhuli vahvati :

(ii) "*khede*" (V. 15 ibid)

hiaḍā phuṭṭai uttabbha :

are not clear. It has been thought that "*gāhuli vahvati khede hiaḍā phuṭṭa daiu tubbha*" may be the reading of the text (only by joining the sūtra "*khede*" with the original example). Luckily Lassen's readings have come to our rescue. He has given it as follows :

gāhulyādir yathāder alpādau : 14

gāhulī vaḍḍhati khede hiaḍā phuṭṭa daiu tubbha : 14

(P. 450 of the *Apabhraṃśa* chapter).

Lassen has also pointed out its correction as "*vaḍḍhadi*" *khede hiaḍāphuṭṭo* etc. in the footnote. Here also we notice the the identical readings of the text.

In the same manner the reading of the sūtra—*ṣaṭa-vargayuktā manāguccāryāḥ* (V. 88) of all the printed texts is unintelligible and obscure. The manuscripts consulted by me contain the readings as

"*yata-cavargayuktā manāguccāryāḥ* (A, C & C₁).

The reading of Lassen is

"*yapacavargayuktā manāguccāryāḥ*."

Whatever may be the readings, it is pretty certain, that all these readings are not clear on this point. The insertion of *p* (in the reading of Lassen) and *ṭ* (in the other) leaves us in doubtful obscurity. Another reading beginning with *ṣ* is undoubtedly a scribal error for *y* as corroborated by the readings of the other manuscripts. But still the reading of Lassen has helped us to emend the reading of the text which will be *yapa* [ra]—*cavargayuktā manāguccāryāḥ*, in which case ['r'] has been dropped by the scribe through oversight. If this

emended or conjectural reading is correct, then the meaning of this sūtra will be quite clear and it will go at par with the later eastern Prakrit grammarians like, Puruṣottama (*cuḥ spaṣṭa-tālavyaḥ*, XIII. 13), Rāmaśarmā (*cavargakāṇām upari prayojyo yukteṣu cāntaḥsthayakāraḥ*, II. 2. 18) and Mārkaṇḍeya (*cayayor upari yaḥ syāt*, XII. 21). It is quite possible that at the time of Kramadīśvara the palatal sounds were pronounced with *y* prefixed to it. This was still prevelant at the time of Rāmaśarmā and Mārkaṇḍeya. In this way the readings of Lassen and Delius have helped us much in determining the correct meaning of the text in some doubtful and obscure cases. There will be no doubt, therefore, to say from the examples quoted above that both the manuscripts and L and D are identical and the same.

From the above descriptions it has become clear that the present vṛtti of the 8th pāda (ascribed to Jumarānandī) and the commentary of Caṇḍīdevaśarmā are practically identical. The reasons behind this are not far to seek. Two possible explanations may be suggested. First, it may be said that Caṇḍīdeva wrote his commentary on the vṛtti of Jumarānandī with an introduction at the beginning. He was, perhaps, at the beginning a bit elaborate, as the introduction of Lassen shows, and then afterwards epitomised his discussions and wrote it in a condensed form which we have at present. Initially he had also given some explanations of some sūtras, but later on he had, perhaps, discarded that idea, and left it to Jumarānandī. Or secondly, it may also be surmised that when there was no commentary on the 8th pāda (as we do not know any other commentary earlier than this—Goyīcandra's commentary is not available now), Caṇḍīdeva wrote this commentary independently which had been styled, in course of time, after Rasavatī of Jumarānandī. And as his commentary was written only on the 8th pāda (after which we have portions on metres and rhetorics) we do not find any colophon of Caṇḍīdeva. But the colophon in which the word "Rasavatī" occurs, is found at the end of the metres and rhetoric portions. That is why in all the manuscripts (A, B, C, C₁) as well as in the printed editions